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Gundelsheim
Rothenburg
Nürnberg
Ansbach



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- 1 Gundelsheim/Neckar
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- 3 Nuremberg
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The Castle Route



The German Tribune

Hamburg, 24 April 1988
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Hijackers take craft of terror up a notch

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Feelings of revulsion, horror and impotence have swept international opinion over what has been the worst hijacking in history.

The hijackers have defied all counter measures. This has demonstrated more clearly than ever how cynical, horrific and dangerous this form of terrorism is.

For far too long, the civilised world failed to take hijacking seriously enough, and that attitude suited some.

The first generation of hijackers now seem to have been harmless amateurs in comparison with those whose professional approach to both technology and psychological terrorism toward victims and adversaries we have all just witnessed.

The first generation failed to operate in sufficient numbers to last out several days of drama and were insufficiently determined to either kill or to die.

They were often not in a position to foresee and forestall for any length of time the delaying, confusion and surprise tactics newly devised by the other side, which was far superior in number.

Their objectives were also frequently of a kind for which some degree of understanding was possible, making it easier to meet their demands half-way than in the latest case, which is aimed at securing the release of convicted bombers.

Hijacking was, to begin with, a new development for public prosecutors too. They frequently first thought in terms of saving the lives of the hijacked passengers and were prepared, up to a face-saving point, to accept the lesser evil and disregard the long-term consequences.

We have since come to realise that this brand of terrorism cannot be brought to a halt by feeding it all or even part of the prey rather than severing even one of the hydra's heads.

The fundamental attitude toward terrorist blackmail has thus come more to the fore, as opposed to tactical considerations of coping with the immediate danger.

Initially, a number of hijackings ended — after fear and trembling — without lives being lost. Either the governments or the terrorists gave in or a mutual compromise was agreed.

The next stage of development was that several hijackings were ended by the intervention of special commando units that freed all, or nearly all, the hostages.

This gave rise to the mistaken impression that the authorities had at their command an ultimate option that deprived hijacking of at least some of its menace.

But subsequent hijackers were bound to bear these commando raids in mind and take suitable precautions.

Besides, a linkage with individual hos-

tages in, say, Lebanon is an additional disincentive to sending in troops.

Even if a raid is successful and no victims are killed, others may die elsewhere as a result.

In this case, like some other occasions, the hijackers have felt immune to a large extent because of their belief in the hereafter.

If you are firmly convinced that after a martyr's death eternal bliss will be yours, arguments that your life may be in jeopardy are unlikely to influence you.

You cannot threaten or use counter terror against families' relatives or backers (both out of the question for a constitutional government in any case).

Hijacking has thus been escalated to its purest and most terrifying form. Once the first passengers of the Kuwaiti jet were murdered a compromise was ruled out for both sides (if it had ever been a realistic possibility).

In long drawn-out hijacking cases murders of this kind are almost inevitable after a while. The terrorists must otherwise fear they will not be taken seriously.

The hijacked Kuwaiti airliner has shown that given sufficient number of terrorists, professional in outlook and determined to kill in cold blood if need be, governments have no choice but to jeopardise innocent lives directly or indirectly — such as, for instance, by freeing unrepentant terrorists in return for the release of the aircraft.

The only way to prevent such tragedies would be to ensure that terrorists and their arms cannot possibly board the plane, but experience has shown that the care and attention paid to security checks tend to flag, in many countries at least, as memories of the last hijacking fade.

Besides, as was evidently the case this time, terrorists may have accomplices working at airports.

An international rapid deployment force would seem a less satisfactory counter-measure consideration than an international surveillance system, operating in secret and empowered to enforce the strictest sanctions against airlines, airports or governments that neglect security check commitments.

Erik-Michael Bader
*(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
für Deutschland, 13 April 1988)*



At the CDU meeting in Bonn: from left, the Soviet ambassador to Bonn, Yuli Kvitalnaki; Bonn President Richard von Weizsäcker; American ambassador to Bonn Richard Burt; and Bonn Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

(Photo: dpa)

The CDU meets and takes stock of foreign policy

Allgemeine Zeitung
MAINZ

The CDU foreign-policy congress in Bonn made headline news because it was attended by the ambassadors of the superpowers, America's Richard Burt and Russia's Yuli Kvitsinski.

It would have deserved attention even if they had not attended because it was held at a time when a CDU paper on foreign, security, European and German policy has led to the party leadership being accused of changing course.

Chancellor Kohl's conference address made it clear that the slogan "no change of course in Deutschlands politik" continues to apply to the constitutional objective of restoring national unity.

It is not enough, however, where operational foreign policy and Deutschlands politik are concerned.

Herr Kohl honed CDU policy a little more keenly, saying that while national unity was not to be abandoned as a long-term objective, in terms of Realpolitik the German Question remains

open and its solution must be sought in a wider, all-European context. The German Question cannot be solved along 19th-century lines, he says.

He also warns against losing sight of reality. The nation-state was a 19th-century concept.

Moscow may continue to be upset by Bonn holding the German Question open, but Chancellor Kohl's vision has nothing whatever to do with restoring national unity within the 1937 borders of the German Reich.

He pays keen attention to Mr Gorbachev's reform bids, but attention must not be confused with credulity.

Glasnost and perestroika have yet to be put through their paces and truly prove their worth.

Herr Kohl would like to practise peacekeeping in Europe above and beyond the military sector, eliminating mistrust by means of economic cooperation, cultural exchange and freedom of movement.

The European house we share, as the Soviet leader is so fond of saying, must have doors and windows and not just safety alarms.

From a firm anchorage in the Western alliance Chancellor Kohl plans to visit Moscow this autumn with every readiness to conclude confidence-building bilateral agreements.

(Allgemeine Zeitung, Mainz, 15 April 1988)

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■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Withdrawal from Afghanistan: beginning of the end, but not yet of the peace

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

Mikhail Gorbachov celebrates his second major foreign policy success with the signing of the Geneva agreement on Afghanistan.

It marks the beginning of the end of a campaign that had become a heavy burden on Moscow.

True, the withdrawal of Soviet troops will not, by any stretch of the imagination, mean peace.

The terms agreed provide for neither a ceasefire nor an end to arms supplies. But the bloodshed will now be between warring Afghan parties.

For Mr Gorbachov, cynical though it may sound, what matters is something else. Bringing the boys home will end a heavy world affairs burden on Moscow and lend fresh impetus to détente between the superpowers.

That was what mattered to Ronald Reagan too, who campaigned as an anti-Communist crusader and was elected President partly in view of the fighting in Afghanistan.

Mr Reagan seems determined to end his second and final term in office as a President of peace. That accounts for his readiness for summit diplomacy, for the INF Treaty and for the formal agreement on Afghanistan signed by Secretary of State Shultz.

The leaders of both superpowers seem resolved at present to seek their salvation in foreign policy successes. Mr Reagan is keen to shine brightly in the US Presidential hall of fame, Mr Gorbachov to score a point over his domestic opponents.

For the hard-pressed Soviet leader and Kremlin reformer ending Moscow's Afghanistan adventure is not only an objective need but a decisive dictate of power politics.

Clashes in the Baltic states and with

In the run-up to this summer's Party conference, which can be expected to decide the fate of Mr Gorbachov's policy, his critics within the Party are closing ranks.

The latest media clash may have ended in a victory for the reformers, but it could hardly have shown more openly that the advocates of Brezhnev-style orthodoxy have by no means given up the struggle.

For the third-largest newspaper in what continues to be a totalitarian state to carry a full-page article warning against parting company with socialism shows that the opponents of reform feel sure of some measure of top-level support.

Democracy as advocated by Mr Gorbachov does not go so far as to allow conservatives a forum in which to air their polemics.

Democracy glasnost-style means a frank exchange of views on approaches to reform, but in strict compliance with the provisions laid down by the Party leader.

So there are definite limits to the new liberalism in Moscow. Only Mr Gorbachov's supporters are allowed to embark on experiments and on new thinking of their own — until the point at which his power within the Party is challenged.

More can hardly be expected of a Soviet leader who faces opposition from conservatives not only in the ranks of officialdom but also among the general public.

For the time being he is expecting the Soviet people to accept substantial sacrifices, such as a reduction in subsidies, an end to tried and trusted concessions, and higher prices with no fundamental improvement in the supply of consumer goods.

Besides, his policy seems to be encouraging nationalist tendencies on the outskirts of the Soviet empire.

For the hard-pressed Soviet leader and Kremlin reformer ending Moscow's Afghanistan adventure is not only an objective need but a decisive dictate of power politics.

Clashes in the Baltic states and with

the Crimean Tatars, the Armenians and the Kazakhs are but a cross-section of the problems that are bound sooner or later to beset the mixed bag of the Soviet colonial empire even though it may style itself a multinational state.

They may be coming to the fore now as a result of Mr Gorbachov's policy of glasnost, but his policy really cannot be said to have been their cause.

Yet the protagonists of the old school naturally make use of such tension to discredit renewal and reform even though they may have no alternative solutions to suggest.

It is all the more amazing to see how consistently Mr Gorbachov has chosen to abide in principle by his policy line.

For his chief foreign policy adviser, Anatoly Dobrynin, to admit that capitalism's powers of resistance were underestimated and to pillory mistakes made in this connection by the communist movement is to cast doubt on an entire credo of Soviet-style socialism.

It heralds a revolution in thinking that testifies to the scope of modernisation as envisaged.

But let no-one be misled into believing that Mr Gorbachov and his associates have ceased to be ideologically motivated.

They remain determined to renew the Soviet system as to enable it to seriously challenge the capitalist West.

To this end, old dogmas are jettisoned and the charms of limited freedom, initiative and a degree of free market economy have been rediscovered.

But there has been no change in their sense of communist mission, which is where they differ as yet from their Chinese counterparts, whose sole aim is to develop their country.

But their respective approaches to reform show increasing signs of similarity.

Joachim Worthmann

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 14 April 1988)

Moscow takes ideological step backwards

the decline of communism in the West to which he admitted both to the Soviet Union and the East Bloc and to the competitive edge enjoyed by the West.

It was partly due, he said, to the West's undeniable scientific and technological revolution and to a technological lead that had brought about an enormous social realignment in the West.

Anatoly Dobrynin, a former Soviet ambassador in Washington and senior secretary of the CPSU central committee, now dares to say that the collapse of capitalism is not imminent, as Soviet pragmatists have proclaimed for decades.

He can only do so with the backing of General Secretary Gorbachov, who has decided to endorse such heresy in the Kremlin and is no longer prepared to promote his Party's obscurantism and self-deception.

It is a dangerous game and can only be won because there is no other way out for the Russian people. It is only too clear that in ideological terms this is a backward step and an admission of powerlessness.

Mr Dobrynin was careful to attribute

much in common with Mr Gorbachov's approach.

The Soviet leader has attributed the failure to establish communism to the total lack of initiative and the prevalence of Party red tape, which he pillories for its unimaginative, routine approach and its tendency to corruption.

The Chinese too have long realised that a thousand flowers must be allowed to bloom if a bearable world is to be created.

Sad to say, long and bitter setbacks preceded the resumption of a critical approach by the National People's Congress and the decision to promote a greater degree of self-administration and decentralisation, a free market economy and a cutback in Party red tape.

Developments throughout the world show signs of similarity in being based on a realisation that ideological forecasts and commandments are no longer enough.

Communists, he said, lagged behind everywhere in the field of international cooperation. The West as he uses the term is clearly the stick with which the Russian donkey is to be beaten.

That doesn't apply only to Europe. What is now happening in China has

been described as a further alarm signal for

Karl Ackermann

(Mannheimer Morgen, 14 April 1988)

Wolfgang Schmid

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 13 April 1988)

New man is a pointer to Chinese aims

The Kremlin seems likely to have welcomed the appointment of Qian Qichen as Chinese Foreign Minister.

It can be no coincidence that he, as expert in Soviet affairs, has been appointed. It is a sign that the Chinese Communists are keen on closer ties with the Soviet Union.

They may be coming to the fore now as a result of Mr Gorbachov's policy of glasnost, but his policy really cannot be said to have been their cause.

Qian Qichen was his country's chief delegate at the Sino-Soviet talks on resuming normal relations.

They proved a failure because China's Deng Xiaoping insisted on three "major hindrances" being eliminated prior to any improvement in relations.

All were political concessions Moscow was expected to make:

- a reduction in Soviet military presence in Mongolia and on the Sino-Soviet border;

- the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan;

- an end to Soviet support for "Vietnam expansionism" in Indo-China.

To the West's surprise Mr Gorbachov has taken Deng's objections seriously. The Soviet Union last year withdrew some of its forces from Mongolia, and by the terms of the INF Treaty Moscow is to scrap medium-range missiles situated in Siberia.

The second condition is to be fulfilled in the course of this year. The Geneva Treaty on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan was signed on 14 April.

That leaves Vietnam, where Soviet policy is ambiguous, with Moscow having doubled its backing for the current five-year plan. At the same time the Soviet Union is bringing pressure to bear on the Vietnamese leaders.

Party leader Truong Chinh, who resigned in 1986, said after a visit to Moscow that Vietnam risked losing Soviet support if large sums of money continued to develop their country.

But their respective approaches to reform show increasing signs of similarity.

Joachim Worthmann

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 14 April 1988)

The Bonn coalition is in a sorry state.

When a prominent FDP politician such as Count Otto Lambsdorff, who ranks as an undisputed right-wing liberal in his own party, starts thinking out loud about a possible coalition with the SPD in the 1990s there is definite cause for concern.

Lambsdorff added that the Social Democrats must learn a great deal by that time. This was a tactical move.

Even though the CDU's Bavarian sister-party may have been right in many respects it repeatedly forgets the sacrifice and caution needed to sustain a multi-party coalition.

This is apparently difficult to understand for a party such as the CSU, which has held an absolute majority in Bavaria for so many years.

What is more, the ageing CSU chairman Franz Josef Strauss never stops trying to exert his influence on the decisions taken by Chancellor Kohl and his cabinet.

Franz Josef Strauss has always tried to further his own political interests against all CDU government leaders in Bonn.

Genscher criticised the dispute in the Bonn coalition and even managed to avoid making a single mention of the name Helmut Kohl.

Genscher's speech in Saarbrücken, therefore, is a further alarm signal for

Kurt Georg Kiesinger (1966-1969)

■ HOME AFFAIRS

Changing voter allegiances wrong-foot main parties

Politische Dokumentation

The two big "people's parties", the CDU and the SPD, are passing through crises.

Although they still have the backing of eighty per cent or more of the electorate, and thus still function as stabilisers of democracy, both parties have to cope with the growing inconsistency of voting patterns.

They can no longer rely on their traditionally loyal voters, whose priorities for party-political allegiance often change overnight.

Disarmament issues suddenly move on to the agenda of the "big issues" and the CDU starts losing absolute majorities in Land elections because of its inability to respond to the challenge fast and realistically enough.

The claim in the Christian party and, as such, in have policies and conduct which differ from other parties, almost become blasphemy.

The questionability of this claim always becomes apparent whenever moral standards are fixed for political action.

When this happens fundamentalists often turn into pure pragmatists, a fact which was recently exemplified in three fields.

The conservative union is on the verge of a programmatic party congress.

This was always a welcome opportunity for party fundamentalists to inquisitorially sound out the whence and whither of party movements.

Does the party risk jeopardising the noble principles of its Deutschlandpolitik by taking the hearings outlined by Heiner Geissler?

Isn't it jettisoning the principles of an austerity budget in favour of social good deeds which are financial pipedreams?

On the other hand, Geissler, Rita Süssmuth and Norbert Blüm force the

Should a Christian Interior Minister be making efforts to stop foreigners from allowing their children to join them if the latter are over six years old?

Both the CDU and CSU know, of course, that most people don't give them their vote because of their disputed Christian policies.

The electorate simply feels that they possess greater competence in the economic and fiscal policy fields.

This together with a convincing foreign policy back in the days of Konrad Adenauer have ensured them sound majorities over the years.

It was only the loss of this competence by the conservative union and the fact that the SPD and FDP had politicians whom the electorate accepted which enabled a change in the power structure in Bonn in 1969.

This led to the first and so far only real election victory by the SPD in 1972.

For almost the same reasons as in the case of the conservative union, however, the SPD was ousted in Bonn in 1982.

The SPD is also discussing the question of its true identity; it also has its fundamentalists and pragmatists, whose roles — as in the conservative union — can change overnight.

Whn wasn't surprised, for example, when the allegedly so left-wing Saarland Premier Oskar Lafontaine (SPD) shocked the foundations of one of the most sacred" of Social Democratic traditions: the party's link with the trade unions?

Yet Lafontaine was merely voicing a truism: the trade unions can clearly claim to be a worker's organisation, he said, but it is fair to question whether the SPD can claim to be a worker's party.

First, there was the case of the visit to Chile by Bonn Labour Minister Norbert Blüm.

Whereas he openly condemned Pinochet and his torturers CSU leader Franz Josef Strauss demonstrated a preference for a policy of pussy-footing and restraint.

In line with the motto: if it has to be a dictatorship, then preferably a right-wing rather than a left-wing one.

A similar conflict erupted over South Africa. The aliens policy in the Federal Republic of Germany serves as a third example.

It looks as if the workers had also ren-

Continued on page 4

Kohl gives the tiller a careful nudge

Chancellor Kohl has been trying to improve the atmosphere in Bonn and lower unreasonable expectations.

On returning after the Easter break, he tried to soothe the CSU by condemning the criticism of Franz Josef Strauss made by the CDU social committee. But he dissociated himself from the CSU by rejecting its demand for a big cabinet reshuffle. The FDP was both courted and told off.

In view of the fact that the coalition partners are getting on each other's nerves and that their caustic remarks are made deliberately and not by chance this is not enough. Genscher's breakfast meeting with Oskar Lafontaine in the Saar trade fair was inevitably the topic of great speculation in such a situation.

Many members of the FDP regard Lafontaine as an unacceptable leadership figure. The fact that Count Otto Lambsdorff (FDP) has been thinking out loud about an alternative coalition also suggests that a concerted action between the SPD and FDP is indeed being seriously considered, even though Genscher has denied this.

This coalition's main problem is that it is too self-preoccupied and thus wastes the energy it should be utilising for its major legislative projects.

Above all, the tax reform, reforms of the health system and a longer-term and more effective reform of the pension schemes run the risk of getting bogged down in parliamentary consultations due to the difficulties of obtaining a consensus.

Time, however, is running out fast. In view of the large number of subsequent elections even Kohl himself feels that a great deal must be completed by the end of next year.

His desire to keep to schedule is understandable, but this should not be achieved at the expense of quality.

The assessment of Kohl's powers of leadership will decisively depend on whether he manages to commit the coalition parties to an issue-related working atmosphere.

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 12 April 1988)

This is bound to worry the FDP. Genscher's noticeable friendliness towards the SPD in general and Oskar Lafontaine in particular during his speech in Saarbrücken on 19 April is an attempt to nix any drift towards a grand coalition.



■ HOME AFFAIRS

SPD better placed than ever to storm a CDU bastion

CDU's Helko Hoffmann... untouched by the scandal.

(Photo: Pny-Pres)

The election takes place without the two figures who left a decisive mark on the election last year: Uwe Barschel, the State Premier at the time; and his public relations adviser, Reiner Pfeiffer. Barschel was sometime after the election found dead in a Geneva hotel.

But despite the wheeling and dealings of that election campaign, the result was not a success for Barschel's CDU. Instead it was a stalemate. The SPD got 36 seats and the Danish minority party one; the CDU got 33 and the FDP 4.

This time, almost everyone expects the CDU, which has been in power here for 37 years, to lose out to the SPD.

Opinion polls give the SPD a clear lead, in some cases large enough to suggest that it has a real chance of winning an absolute majority.

The CDU finds itself in a sorry state; and it has to blame some leading party members for the situation. The FDP, which has been assuming big-party airs and graces in recent months, and which has run into trouble as a result, will again have to worry about whether it will even be able to get over the five-per-cent of the vote hurdle, which is necessary to get representation in the assembly.

And the Greens doubt whether they will have a say in determining policies in the Land after the election.

The CDU goes into the campaign with a team headed by a man regarded as a makeshift candidate who has come in in an emergency: Heiko Hoffmann. The SPD, on the other hand, is headed by Björn Engholm, the man who was the target of the dirty-tricks campaign last time. Engholm has a widespread popularity and many CDU people like him as well.

The SPD reckons that if it doesn't win this time in Schleswig-Holstein, then it never will. But if it is determined not to count its chickens before they're hatched, the Land has a hard core of supporters that has happened since the election last September gives any great hope that the CDU will be able to make up the lost ground in time for 8 May. Large sections of the party have been unable to draw the conclusions which need to be drawn following the Barschel affair.

Of course, the new candidate for Premier, Hoffmann, is untried by the SPD. He is also a respected politician outside his own party.

But this will hardly be enough, especially in view of the fact that the crisis of leadership triggered inter alios by the CDU chairman in Schleswig-Holstein, Gerhard Stoltenberg, still continues.

Some of the party's former hopefuls such as its former representative in the parliamentary inquiry into the Barschel affair, Count Trutz Kerssenbrock, have been brought back to earth with a bump.

In an attempt to ensure his place on the party list of candidates Kerssenbrock, who is extremely conscious of the media, managed only to get 35 of the 400 votes at the regional-party conference. This means that he will have to be first past the post in his own constituency to get a seat in the assembly.

The days when the CDU could rely on candidates winning most of the seats in Schleswig-Holstein are now over. Once, the SPD was happy if it won 10 of the 44 seats. But that changed fundamentally in September last year.

The SPD then took many seats which had traditionally been CDU property. CDU candidates on the party list could count themselves lucky that, under the proportional representation system, they didn't have to fight a constituency battle.

Another difficulty for the CDU is that no major issue which might stir the voters has emerged. The SPD envisages phasing out nuclear energy. This was heavily criti-

Continued from page 3

cised that you can't distribute more than the economy produces.

Baden-Württemberg Premier Lothar Späth, for example, achieved a no longer expected victory in the state assembly elections with his argument that improving the situation for employers helps improve the situation for employees.

As the percentage share of skilled workers among the total number of employees increases there is also a growing leaning towards individuality and towards an emancipation from precon-



SPD's Björn Engholm... a popular candidate.

(Photo: Sven Simon)

cised by the CDU last year but it has already fallen flat this year as an issue.

The attempts by the CDU every year to criticise SPD education policies in favouring developing the comprehensive school system is unlikely to interest anyone other than untiring critics in the schools themselves.

It looks as if the Barschel affair will remain the key issue. Gerd Walter, the SPD chairman in Schleswig-Holstein, is gunning for Stoltenberg, the CDU chairman. Walter says Stoltenberg should take responsibility for the affair.

The CDU replies that this attitude is a breach of the fair-play arrangement between the parties. Günter Flessner, the deputy CDU Land chairman, referred to what he called the serious mistakes of just a few politicians. The party as a whole, he said, could not be held responsible.

It will be interesting to see how the conservatives tackle the shattering results of the parliamentary commission of inquiry into the affair during the election campaign.

Right wingers in the CDU and in extreme right-wing groups are trying to exploit the CDU crisis for their own ends.

The Land election in Baden-Württemberg, in which the CDU just managed to hang on to power, showed that a growing number of voters are willing to vote for right-wing radicals, even under circumstances which are much more favourable for the CDU than in Schleswig-Holstein.

So, all in all, it looks as if political power in Kiel will change hands. It is unlikely that the FDP will be able to keep the CDU in office. The likeliest result is that the SPD will not quite manage an absolute majority and will be obliged to enter a coalition with the FDP. A glance at Hoffmann's campaign teams reveals just how sceptical the CDU regards its own prospects. No prominent politician from Bonn or from the other Länder was willing to help the Schleswig-Holstein party out of the shadow cabinet.

The SPD then took many seats which had traditionally been CDU property. CDU candidates on the party list could count themselves lucky that, under the proportional representation system, they didn't have to fight a constituency battle.

We are at the beginning of an era of growing confusion over where we stand and what our bearings are, an era that has yet to be defined in terms of cultural psychology.

As orientation is invariably value-related, we also face confusion in our system of values. Young people are on the lookout for new values, as is shown by the growing tendency toward religion (and toward offbeat sects).

It was a development that began with protest against an affluent society and its bourgeois values and ended in resignation and violence.

Dutschke, who never fully recovered, was a student leader who symbolised the class of '68 campus unrest and the protest movements of the 1960s.

The political climate and social structures of the Federal Republic undeniably triggered protest and student unrest.

In Bonn the Christian and Social Democrats shared power in a Grand Coalition government from 1966 to 1969.

Their joint exercise of power led to political sterility and parliamentary stagnation.

The political system was overshadowed by the Adenauer era which, the longer it lasted, increasingly came to rely on the maxim of "no experiments" as the yardstick of Christian Democratic and conservative behaviour.

Many people anxious to find new bearings feel utopian ideologies may be the answer. The result is a kind of renaissance of ideologies. Marxist, anarchist, Green-alternative and, admittedly, nationalist utopias are benefiting most.

The temptation to accept ideological answers is great because of their sense of moral superiority. Struggling for an

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ceived opinions, and behavioural patterns.

This is a risk for any mass organisation or mass-oriented political party. The more fundamentalist or ideological the organisation or party, the greater the risk.

More individual freedom means less general equality.

Providing this does not lead to a value-free society and egotism this is not beneficial to democracy.

Hans Schmitz
(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 13 April 1988)

■ PERSPECTIVE

Dangers of yearning for an intelligible future in an age of shifting values

ideal future is more fascinating than changing an un-ideal present.

Despite their many differences, young people today all feel they live in an unintelligible world in which functional connections can no longer be controlled and in which forces exist that try to take man by the hand and lead him where he doesn't want to go.

This unintelligible present triggers a growing feeling of unease and, often, anxiety. This much-vaunted and usually underrated anxiety is merely a natural reaction to an unnatural state of affairs.

This unease about the unintelligibility of the present leads to a longing for an intelligible future. This legitimate longing for an alternative is, also, aimed at a new feeling of humanity. Many young people feel antisocial humanity is on the increase.

Not infrequently, their demonstrations of protest are nothing more than the expression of a collective experience of humanity.

Viewed superficially, the politico-psychological situation is governed by many sectors in politics, not to mention science and industry, having grown too complacent for the man in the street.

So he refuses to accept them rationally. They include European integration, security and defence policy, atomic energy, electronics, chemicals.

The vacuum leads to an emotionalisation of argument. Never in post-war Germany has politics been viewed and discussed as emotionally as today.

The time has come for those who feel politicians ought to reach and justify their decisions on the basis of the Sermon on the Mount.

Conditions typical of the age in which we live include the explosive increase in communications, especially telecommunication. TV, for instance, has brought about greater changes in how we think and feel and what we want than any new medium.

The amount of storable information is estimated to have doubled between 1800 and 1900.

Between 1900 and today it has increased 150-fold. This means we are inundated with information most of which is unnecessary in daily life. It also complicates communication between generations.

Legitimacy goes by the board, however, when two police officers are murdered (it happened in Frankfurt) and hundreds of fellow-officers need hospital treatment.

Legitimacy though it may be to demonstrate against the arms race in East and West, there is no justification for breaking the law by refusing to accept decisions reached by parliamentary majorities.

There is no justification for a "law of resistance" going beyond Article 20 of

Twenty years ago, on 11 April 1968, student leader Rudi Dutschke was shot in Berlin. The shots not only marked him for life; they marked the end of a development in the Federal Republic of Germany.

We are at the beginning of an era of growing confusion over where we stand and what our bearings are, an era that has yet to be defined in terms of cultural psychology.

As orientation is invariably value-related, we also face confusion in our system of values. Young people are on the lookout for new values, as is shown by the growing tendency toward religion (and toward offbeat sects).

It was a development that began with protest against an affluent society and its bourgeois values and ended in resignation and violence.

Dutschke, who never fully recovered, was a student leader who symbolised the class of '68 campus unrest and the protest movements of the 1960s.

The political climate and social structures of the Federal Republic undeniably triggered protest and student unrest.

In Bonn the Christian and Social Democrats shared power in a Grand Coalition government from 1966 to 1969.

Their joint exercise of power led to political sterility and parliamentary stagnation.

The political system was overshadowed by the Adenauer era which, the longer it lasted, increasingly came to rely on the maxim of "no experiments" as the yardstick of Christian Democratic and conservative behaviour.

Many people anxious to find new bearings feel utopian ideologies may be the answer. The result is a kind of renaissance of ideologies. Marxist, anarchist, Green-alternative and, admittedly, nationalist utopias are benefiting most.

The temptation to accept ideological answers is great because of their sense of moral superiority. Struggling for an

toward people who hold views different from one's own are ignored.

It is thus high time to recall the foundations of our free and democratic system — before the risks threaten to jeopardise its very survival.

Everyone likes freedom, especially those who once lost it. But most people in the Federal Republic today have only second-hand knowledge of losing freedom. Freedom is a matter of course.

That is why many risk freedom more readily than they might be prepared to expose less self-evident values to risk.

Yet this freedom presupposes links and commitments, as it will otherwise degenerate into anarchy.

Freedom will otherwise lead to the strong imposing their will on the weak, to the rich exploiting the poor and to the fast outpacing the slow.

These links, the constraints of the law, need, like freedom itself, to be inalienable, as otherwise they will degenerate into dictatorship.

Dictatorship is basically links without freedom to go with them. In German history we have had more than our share of dictatorship, left- and right-wing.

Justice and the law are indispensable, and the law needs power if it is to become reality. Law without power is an illusion worth no more than the paper it is printed on.

Neither ethically nor physically does it oblige anyone to abide by it.

Power, however, — up to and including the clenched fist of force — needs to abide by the law to attain legality.

A fundamental feature of the rule of law is that all power is legitimised by the law (or can at least be kept in check by it).

If, in a free and democratic system, certain power factors or those who exercise power are no longer subject to the dictates of the law, constitutional issues arise.

In other words, the entire system is called into question.

Any sober and level-headed appraisal of the position in the Federal Republic is bound to refer to the numerous constitutional aspects of the system.

The present and future of our polity will depend on how they are handled.

J. Kurt Klein
(Die Welt, Bonn, 13 April 1988)

Era of student unrest — 20 years later

Junior school and university student protest in the late 1960s, prompting them (and many university teachers) to throw in their lot with what was known as the Extra-Parliamentary Opposition (APO).

In Vietnam the Americans were busy losing their way in a jungle war they could no longer hope to win. Pictorial coverage of horrific and brutal proportions was flashed round the world.

"Ho, Ho, Ho Chi-minh!" was the war cry of demonstrators in the Federal Republic.

There was unrest in the United States too, with protest against both the Vietnam war and oppression of black Americans.

Besides, rapid developments in many sectors ensured the beginning of the end of outmoded structures.

In 1969 a coalition of Social and Free Democrats came to power in Bonn, and in the early 1970s a succession of treaties were concluded with the East Bloc.

Continued on page 15

■ LABOUR

The penalty for neglecting the nation's biggest asset

Hannoversche Allgemeine

Those were the days, the 1960s and early 1970s, when school-leavers could pick and choose, when employers fought to sign up any apprentice they could find.

Everyone could learn whatever trade he wanted, subject only to the limits of his ability, either in industry or at university.

As we all know, times have changed, and changed very much for the worse. The 1960s baby boom led to a dramatic increase in the number of school-leavers in the 1980s.

Even though the political problems that ensued could hardly have been more predictable, prospective employers still failed to provide enough apprenticeships to train them.

The latest figures presented by the employers are a clear indication that happy days may soon be here again.

The baby boom was followed by the after-effects of the contraceptive pill: a low birth-rate generation that will soon be leaving school.

By the mid-1990s there will be a manpower shortage almost everywhere. Trade and industry, the Bundeswehr, schools and universities are already starting to complain.

Society already has a high price to pay for having failed to provide satisfactory vocational training for school-leavers in the 1980s.

The only raw material to which the Federal Republic can lay claim is the

brain power, vocational training and qualifications of the Germans.

Unlike cash and kind, this is a commodity that cannot be increased or multiplied at will. That is why all investment in the education and training of the young is an investment in the future of society as a whole.

Decision-makers in the Federal Republic have failed to make the right investment.

The overwhelming majority of school-leavers may always have found some trade to learn or been able to study, but more would have been better.

Instead of joining forces in this endeavour, the country's economic "superpowers," the trade unions and the employers, have spent the past decade waging their cold war of old.

Politicians have contented themselves with appealing to all concerned. The result was an increase in the number of apprenticeships and trainees offered, with supply by and large meeting demand.

But apprenticeships have continued to be in short supply, especially in development areas and, arguably more important still, in trades that are of crucial importance for the country's economic future.

This somewhat slapdash and haphazard approach to the problem of a boom of school-leavers has had repercussions.

Hundreds of thousands of school-leavers who failed to find an apprenticeship left school to join the ranks of the unemployed.

Society already has a high price to pay for having failed to provide satisfactory vocational training for school-leavers in the 1980s.

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They are a generation that rightly feels it has been left in the lurch. Society has let them down.

Even if the situation does now improve, many young people can look back on hard times. One can but hope they will find suitable jobs.

But some of them are sure to stay in the ranks of the unemployed until demographic developments eventually reverse the trend.

Society, having failed to satisfactorily organise employment and education, will long have to pay the price for its mistakes.

They may not be quantifiable, but industry could definitely do more if unused or underused manpower potential were properly harnessed.

The state would net more in taxes, unemployment insurance, health insurance and pension fund contributions would be lower and pensions could be increased.

The employers' laments about an imminent shortage of school-leavers are bound to be music in young people's ears.

The first signs of a manpower shortage are, admittedly, in trades that aren't very attractive.

But, as time goes by, the shortage will spread to other trades and industries until school-leavers can once again pick and choose.

They will be able to opt for the job that interests them and no longer have to make do with whatever just happens to be available.

Besides, the survey continues, the self-employed do not work a 40-hour week. On average they work 56 hours a week.

The professions employ roughly 1.2 million people and total an estimated turnover in excess of DM 100bn a year.

The medical professions total 143,000, making them the largest category. They include over 100,000 doctors and dentists, 17,000 pharmacists and 22,500 people employed in non-academic medical professions.

They used to earn more than other professions, but the rush to join their ranks and efforts to cut costs in the health service are likely to reduce their earnings markedly in the years ahead.

An estimated 46,000 solicitors and notaries, 34,000 tax advisers and accountants and 22,000 management and advertising consultants work in the respective professions.

Lawyers already face tough competition, but the survey says the outlook for these categories will continue to be favourable, subject only to a general increase in numbers.

Beginners often find it hard to establish themselves. They frequently have to survive very lean years before they can hold their own in competition with established practitioners.

The outlook for the construction industry is felt to be so gloomy that the country's 30,000-odd architects seem sure to face hard times.

The 13,000 consulting engineers and 15,000 self-employed scientists in other disciplines should fare better.

Careers women stressed that they set great store by an objective approach, saying men were afraid of emotions.

They felt a "he-woman" outlook was undesirable but warned against using sex tactfully in any way.

Women, all were agreed, have never been as well qualified as they are today.

Never have so many done so well at university, especially with business-related degrees such as economics, management and law.

Gone, or so it would seem, are the days (or gone they soon may be) when men held sway by virtue of will power, energy and ambition.

Authority and elbowing are out; a softer approach is in. It may not be typical of women, though; some men already prefer it.

Besides, there is no longer felt to be a style of leadership specifically attributed to one sex or the other; individualism is the catchword.

Their management skills, the congress was told, were not adequately en-

A rush to the professions is predicted

More and more people are reported to be aiming at a career in the professions, says a Commerzbank survey.

By the turn of the century the number of self-employed professional people is expected to increase from 363,000 to about 570,000.

Pressure — and competition — will be fierce, with the largest increase forecast for management, industrial and advertising consultants.

In 12 years' time there are expected to be 49,000 of them self-employed in Germany, or twice as many as today.

The number of lawyers and consulting engineers is also expected to double, as against only a slight increase in numbers of artists, publicists, educationalists and people in the liberal arts generally.

The reason for this rush to join the professions is, according to the Commerzbank survey, the poor prospects of finding a job in either industry or the public sector, plus the encouraging forecasts of incomes in the professions.

Last year the average self-employed professional person grossed DM 87,000. He (or she) naturally had a substantial provision for security in old age.

Besides, the survey continues, the self-employed do not work a 40-hour week. On average they work 56 hours a week.

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Confidence rises internationally as 1987 figures reveal increase in trade



(and further) increase in the price of German goods in export markets.

Yet exports, far from declining, increased steadily until the last quarter of 1987, registering a real increase of 7.5 per cent on 1986.

One explanation for this trend is that exchange-rate fluctuations tend to have a delayed-action effect on trade patterns.

Besides, exports were affected not only by a revised deutschemark. The mark declined in value against sterling, the yen and the Swiss franc.

All told, the average revaluation in terms of a trade-weighted basket of the 14 leading industrialised countries was a mere two per cent.

That is not a figure which is likely to upset the competitive applecart to any great extent, especially as prices and costs in most competing countries increased faster than in the Federal Republic.

Last not least, German exporters sell well over two thirds of their goods in Europe, a part of the world blessed last year with relative exchange-rate stability.

Mayday in view of foreign exchange trends the forecasts for 1988 have at times been somewhat gloomy.

The Standing Conference of German Chambers of Commerce and Industry (DIHT) may not have forecast a "slump"

in exports on the basis of its New Year poll of members.

But it did say that German companies were expecting exports to decline and profits to be markedly hit.

Meanwhile, however, the dollar has not just steadied: it has even gained ground to about DM 1.70.

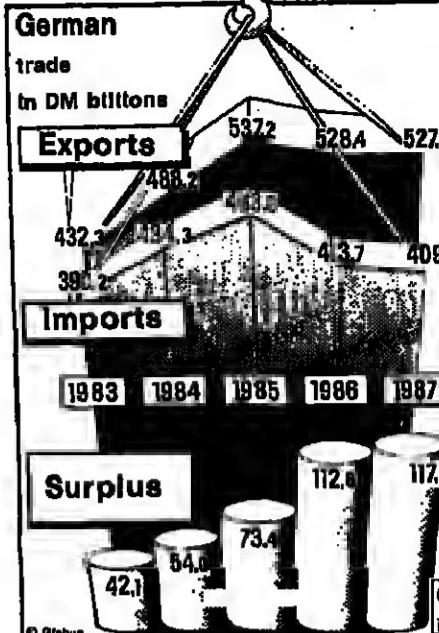
This, taken alongside what continues to be a largely favourable economic outlook, especially in European countries, has led to trade and industry feeling more confident.

Guarded optimism has been partly encouraged by recent export orders, which in the New Year were in some cases well above the high levels averaged between April and December 1987.

This is true of export orders generally, of basic materials and manufactures, of capital and consumer goods.

It naturally varies from industry to industry but the seasonal and inflation-adjusted trend is encouraging.

Between December 1987 and February 1988 export orders were up 8.6 per cent in real terms, or a growth rate



nearly three times that of domestic orders.

GATT and OECD now also take a more promising view of the outlook for the international economy and for world trade.

So German exports are now expected to increase by between two and three per cent in real terms this year, while imports could increase by between five and six per cent.

Lothar Julitz

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
für Deutschland, 14 March 1988*

World growth prospects are better, says Stoltenberg

German economic growth this year

could exceed two per cent, Bonn Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg forecast on the eve of the spring conference of the IMF and the World Bank in Washington, D.C.

The conference dealt with the international economic outlook, economic and monetary policy cooperation between the industrialised countries and the Third World's sovereign debts.

All told, he said, the position of many heavily indebted developing countries continued to be difficult, while that of a number of very poor countries was critical. The Washington conference would probably concentrate on the problems of debt-ridden countries with moderate national products and on the extent to which new financial instruments might make it easier for the banks to chip in more cash.

But fresh funds only made sense,

Mr. Stoltenberg said, in countries where the groundwork was laid for more growth and stability.

The outlook for continued international economic growth and a gradual approximation of trade and current account balances between industrialised countries was better this spring than at the end of last year.

At the end of 1987, after serious upsets in foreign exchange and stock markets, there were grave fears that the international economy could be in for a phase of stagnation or recession, not to mention serious trade clashes.

Close cooperation between the leading industrialised countries had, however, played a large part in ensuring continued growth and fairly stable prices in these countries, which had a positive effect on the developing world.

In the Federal Republic of Germany economic growth this year seemed likely to amount to over two per cent, due partly to a substantial increase in pri-

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 12 April 1988)

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(Rheinische Post, Düsseldorf, 9 April 1988)

■ BUSINESS

What SDI is doing for German industry — not much

RHEINISCHER MERKUR

Economic Affairs Minister Martin Bangemann and US Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger signed an SDI framework agreement on 27 March 1986.

It was intended to serve as a "brand principle for possible extensive participation" by German firms and research establishments in the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI).

What effect has this "memorandum of understanding" had? Bernd W. Kubbig of the Hesse Foundation for Research into War and Peace has examined what has been achieved two years after the agreement was signed.

In his report he comes to the conclusion that many expectations were just soap bubbles and burst.

One of the main hopes was that through SDI participation German firms would be able to take part in American research projects.

The truth is that two years later German firms have not taken part in technical know-how to any noteworthy extent because of restrictive American legislation.

Kubbig is an America expert at the Hesse War and Peace Foundation and did a doctorate in political science.

He has looked at SDI relations within the context of a project supported by the Bonn-based Scientific Research Association (DFG).

He has visited the United States any number of times and has carried on his research within the SDI administration, in the Pentagon and the offices of the US Senate and House of Representatives.

He has come to the conclusion that hardly any of the expectations held for SDI cooperation have come to fruition.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl had hoped for fair partnership and a free exchange of knowledge from the Federal Republic's involvement in SDI.

Through the framework agreement the Federal Republic should have participated in the innovative thrust of the programme and exerted some influence on the programme as a whole. So the Chancellor said in his government statement of 18 April 1985.

But instead of the expected partnership developments took place in the US after the signing of the agreement that ran counter to Federal Republic hopes.

The secrecy surrounding scientific-technical data was intensified. Secondly there was an increased tendency to limit unclassified research contracts from the Pentagon among universities and orders to Defense Department contractors were sharply reduced.

The export of military high technology, mainly micro-electronics, important or regarded as important, was made in practice and at law extremely difficult.

These factors are not compatible with the idea of fair partnership. They have reduced to a mere trickle the broad flow of contracts expected as a consequence of the framework agreement.

Kubbig said: "There were and are no precise figures about what it was hoped

the agreement would involve. There were many expressions of euphoria."

He continued: "The truth is that today, two years after the agreement, contracts valued at \$50.5m have been handed out in German firms and research establishments, mainly Stuttgart University."

Just how limited this share is can be seen from a glance at the total of SDI contracts. "That is 0.5 per cent of all SDI contracts handed out up to the spring of 1987 — about as much as have been placed in the state of Utah," Kubbig said.

He continued: "These contracts to German companies and institutions make up one per cent of the total of SDI contracts handed out in foreign firms and institutions — just about as much as have been placed in the state of Colorado."

The climate of opinion within the United States has also changed, analogous with this transatlantic disillusionment. Attitudes to SDI have altered considerably, particularly in Congress, which ultimately has to approve spending in the civilian sector," Kubbig said.

"Although the Reagan administration has trimmed the SDI budget as compared with previous years, the discrepancy between what the Administration is demanding and what Congress is prepared to approve has become greater. There is no doubt that the majority in Congress is critical of SDI," said Kubbig.

How has this increased gap in the figures come about? Kubbig commented: "Glancing at the 1989 budget in terms of funds requested for the SDI programme I estimate that up until now about \$20bn has been put into the programme or will be allocated for it."

He continued: "This is against the original hopes of getting \$26bn. Discussions about the 1989 budget are still going on, but nevertheless you can assume that Congress will cut the funds allocated even more drastically."

The one per cent of SDI contracts that has been placed abroad is divided among eight countries. Compared with the others the Federal Republic with \$50.5m worth of contracts has the lion's share.

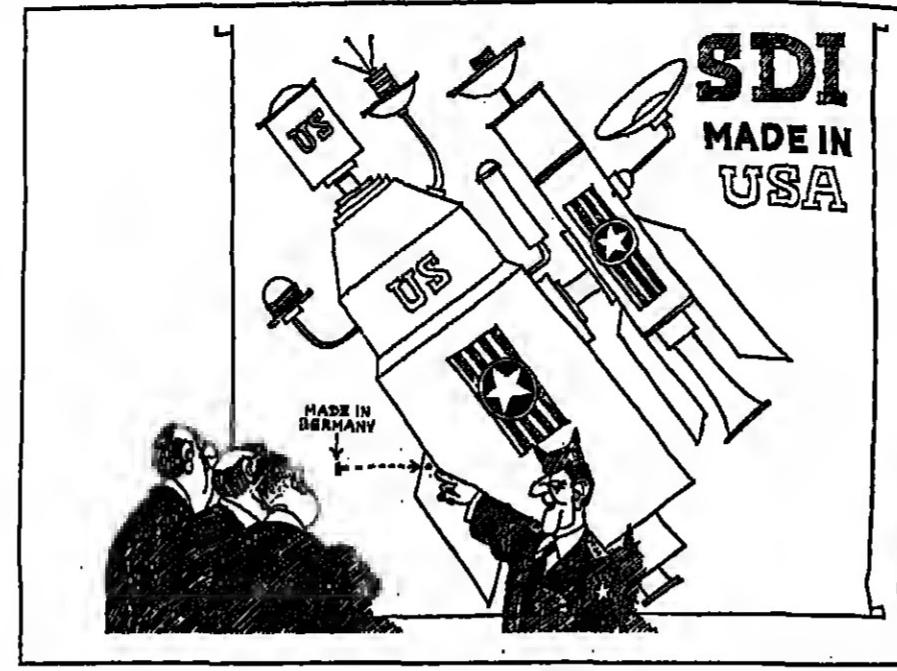
Britain holds second place with \$30m worth of orders. Here the discrepancy between hopes and reality are much more conspicuous.

In the expectation of many contracts the British Defence Ministry opened its own SDI office, employing 24 in Britain and seven in the US, at an annual cost of \$500,000.

Over the past two years the Dutch have been given SDI contracts worth \$12m. Israel and Italy have each received contracts valued at \$11m. France \$5m.

The French participation shows that the American SDI administration purchases important know-how from wherever it is offered, disregarding whether the country concerned has signed a framework agreement or not.

The French government not only refused to sign the agreement but for a long time has made no secret of the fact that it regards SDI in a very critical light. Paris has given French companies a free hand to participate in SDI, however.



Something for everyone.

(Cartoon: Leger/Süddeutsche Zeitung)

Canada has received SDI contracts valued at \$900,000, and Belgium \$90,000. The Belgians and the Dutch have both expressed their scepticism about SDI.

What is the implication of these facts for the argument advanced that those who do not participate in SDI are bound to become technologically second-rate in the civilian sector?

Kubbig said: "Looking at the contracts that have been placed it is quite clear that Federal Republic firms have gained no practical know-how. Arms cooperation is no way to build up solid and promising high technology policies in the civilian sector."

He continued: "Anyone who wants to close possible or real technological gaps should pursue paths of civilian cooperation. Many of the limitations, which apply to military matters, would fall away if this were done."

Kubbig published a list from the Pentagon which shows that the US Defence Department had signed agreements with the German companies Zeiss, Schott and Heraeus long before the signing of the framework agreement.

He indicated clearly that SDI contracts are signed irrespective of an SDI framework agreement.

In July 1986, four months after Bangemann and Weinberger signed the agreement, Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm received the largest single contract awarded to a non-American company within the SDI context. It was valued at \$34m.

According to Bernd Kubbig the fact that the Bonn government had nevertheless gone along with this agreement did not go unnoticed by internal American SDI sceptics and opponents.

"The ultra-conservatives of all people, who did not go along with the aims of the Federal government's arms control policies, used this framework agreement to strengthen their pro-SDI stance."

Kubbig continued: "But those senators and congressmen who shared the Federal Republic's attitudes, liberal opponents and moderate sceptics of the SDI programme that is, felt themselves snubbed by Bonn."

According to Kubbig Senator William S. Proxmire, Democrat, Wisconsin, is an example. He is one of the best-known opponents of SDI, but was left with just one argument when Bonn had given in to the agreement.

The Senator, Kubbig said, believed that the Europeans had been bought by the framework agreement. "Only in this way could the Federal Republic, the Bonn government at least, muffle its criticisms of SDI."

Peter Körzen
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 1 April 1988)

■ ENERGY

Increased estimates of oil reserves: who has got who over a barrel now?

Opec oil reserves are on the increase, the West is on the decline, says a US trade journal. Does the industrialised world risk further dependence on the oil sheikhs?

The latest estimate of world crude reserves by the *Oil & Gas Journal*, a US trade paper that is prescribed reading for oilmen, is much higher than previously assumed.

In comparison with previous figures estimated world reserves in 1988 have increased by 27 per cent at one fell swoop to 121 billion tonnes.

This is an all-time record, as the trade well knows. In terms of current world consumption totalling roughly three billion tonnes a year, the latest estimated reserves should be enough for another 40 years or so.

Reassuring news for motorists, people with oil-fired central heating and the petrochemical industry. Not to mention economic policymakers.

The international upswing sustained for the past six years has owed little to the economic genius of Ronald Reagan, Margaret Thatcher and Helmut Kohl.

It has been due to the sudden surplus of crude oil after years of artificially short supply.

So the news is good for everyone who is happy to carry on as before. But on closer scrutiny the implications, particularly the political implications, of this newly-proclaimed abundance of energy reserves are far from reassuring.

The increase is due entirely to an enormous boost in the reserves of the Opec countries, the countries that from 1974 to 1980 pursued oil price policies which triggered the most serious crisis of the capitalist system since 1929.

Opec reserves have been re-estimated at 91 billion tonnes, up 40 per cent, while those of other oil producers declined by two per cent to 30 billion tonnes.

So three quarters of the world's petroleum reserves lie beneath Opec countries, all of which except Venezuela and Indonesia are in politically insecure parts of the world.

Until last year the accepted view was that the Opec countries accounted for two thirds of the world's oil reserves, with the West and the communist countries sharing the remaining third.

That leaves Saudi Arabia, which still accounts for roughly a quarter of the world's proven oil reserves.

Between them they make up a fair number of countries well-disposed toward the West and heavily committed in the West by way of investments.

That need not stop them from making the best use they can of their financial options as other Western oil suppliers slowly run dry.

They have the whip hand in any case, not just because of their enormous proven reserves but also because their production costs are much lower than those of other producers.

A barrel of oil costs between \$1 and \$2 to produce in the deserts of Arnhin, as against \$10-15 in the West, where oil platform technology is often costly and complex.

At the current market price of \$18 per barrel a number of producers find it hard to make ends meet in Western oilfields.

That provides the Arab petroleum-exporting countries, should they ever reach agreement again, with a brilliant means of manipulating the world market.

If they want to bring Western oil production to a halt all they need to do is to cut oil prices to roughly what it costs the West to produce oil.

If, in contrast, they decide to make their reserves last longer, all they need to do is push the oil price so high that the West starts to exploit its own oil reserves again.

Does that mean Opec holds the whip hand whatever happens? Not quite.

If Opec were to push prices up to, say, \$35-40, it would automatically jeopardise its monopoly of supplies.

The industrialised countries would then develop expensive energy alternatives that have so far been neglected on cost grounds.

Oil itself would be the most significant alternative: heavy oil, oil sand and shale, all of which are available in enormous quantities in America.

Their only drawback is that they can only be extracted and supplied to refineries and consumers at a production cost of \$35 per barrel.

Heavy oil and oil sand and shale reserves, mainly in the United States and Canada, roughly correspond to Opec's present proven crude oil reserves.

But technical progress, together with any increase in the market price of

crude oil, will automatically boost Opec's reserves.

They are estimated less on a geological basis than on one of accountancy. The term "proven oil reserves" means reserves that can profitably be extracted, taking economic and technological considerations into account.

In reality geologists have located oil reserves 10 times the level they currently specify as "proven," and even oilfields that are now being worked are only rated at about 30 per cent of their capacity.

Producers rely on underground pressure to extract the oil. This pressure is exhausted by the time between 25 and 30 per cent of the oil has been extracted.

The remainder stays put and is not included in reserve estimates.

When these factors are borne in mind, no-one will need to be upset by reserve estimates. As long as there has been an oil industry the proven reserves have invariably been enough to meet demand for a further 30-40 years.

That will probably still be the case in a century's time. So the excitement caused by the latest estimates published

SONNTAGSBLATT

in the *Oil & Gas Journal* merely reflect power politics.

As soon as the Gulf War is over (and it strictly limits Opec's leeway) the West could well face fresh economic fiascos again.

Iraq and Iraq rely on petrodollars to bankroll their war and are reported to have pledged a number of their oilwells to Western countries. Their output is certainly bound to blight the oil market.

But this glut of oil produced in the Middle East could well come to an end at the same time as oil reserves in the West grow scarce.

America, Japan and Europe will then have no choice but to make the best of a bad job.

They could work the enormous but expensive reserves of heavy oil and oil sand and shale, but that would entail investment totalling \$1,000bn.

They could switch from oil to natural gas, but Western reserves of natural gas are also limited and being supplanted by gas piped from the Soviet Union and Algeria.

Last not least, they could devote their attention and creative imagination to developing energy-saving techniques and non-fossil, non-nuclear fuels.

Günther Buschmann

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 10 April 1988)

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Bernstein... anyone can conduct, but...

(Photo: Sven Simon)

A three-part television film has been made of Leonard Bernstein's Orchestra Academy at the Schleswig-Holstein Music Festival.

Production costs were enormous. Five cameras, massive transmission truck and two mobile television trucks turned the manor house at Salzau in Ernst Holstein into a high-technology camp.

Director Horst H. Höhfeld and his technical staff had the opportunity to describe a process, perhaps even a drama, the origins of interpretation or what happens when a conductor conducts.

From the start no concept was drawn up, there was no concert that could be shown on the television screen, following the usual scheme of full rehearsal then pruning in individual players.

This time the problem was to make a meaningful visual narrative from many number of isolated shots that could be a portrait of Bernstein without the public relations angle, advertising for the Schleswig-Holstein Music Festival without the marketing men banging the drum.

The film had to be an atmospheric evocation of a distant corner of the Federal Republic, a documentation of what is being done to encourage young musicians and an explanation of the inexplicable "but" in the title of one of the three-hour films, "Anyone can conduct, but..."

The film had also to be an answer to the question what makes orchestral conductors conductors, an explanation for cultural affairs officials of that which they administered and which they should know all about, and finally a concert guide to draw viewers into the magic of music with the aid of the visual. The viewer learns to listen by watching.

If a work of art is a creation with many facets and perspectives then this three-part series is a work of art. The filming simply revolved round the documentation of two weeks of hard work and happy celebration.

But sensitive camera work and sympathetic approach to what could be called "the action" has produced a lot more.

Every antenna is out to produce a visual language that gives some idea of what music is and what music can trigger off.

The three films act as a mediator between emotional and rational qualities as does the music itself.

Bernstein announced that Igor Stravinsky's *Sacre du Printemps* was concerned with sex and reproduction. He made this statement not only verbally but using his whole body.

The camera pans on the faces of the young musicians, taken aback by what he has said. But it also pans out of the window of the barn that was converted into a rehearsal studio, to close-ups of Holstein cows chewing the cud, to bees and flowers.

It is not the only humorous touch in the three films.

The 120 instrumentalists for the or-

■ PEOPLE IN THE ARTS

Leonard Bernstein: film with atmospheric evocation

chestra were chosen through a rigorous selection process from more than 10,000 applicants.

To warm them up and to get them to listen to one another he demanded from his players the childishness of scales.

The young boys and girls from 14 to 26, who felt themselves to be a bit above such an unreasonable demand, quickly realised how difficult it is to cope with the simplest thing.

Bernstein, the psychologist, conducted his charges into ever fresh variations of a simple C major scale. A piece of music was created from eight notes.

Bernstein made his musicians relax by shocks and tricks of this kind. He opened them up to things of the mind, he made them receptive.

One young musician said: "Bernstein is in man through and through who expresses everything with his body. He is a magician. When he stands in front of you, you have to play as he directs."

Bernstein is not given the TV star treatment but he is in command of everything, even the viewers. That comes in useful for an understanding of the music not only in the rehearsal barn but on the television screen.

Every hour-long programme has its own problem. The first film of the series, entitled "We make progress this way," shows not only preparations with trenching from experienced instrumentalists drawn from the Berlin Philharmonic and the Hamburg Philharmonic but also some idea of how to come to grips with the "action" of the TV film.

How can the film maintain its tension if the main character never appears?

At first this seemed like a molly-muddle; there are shots of the landscape from a plane, faces and vegetables, cooks and double-basses, dogs and horns. The meaning is unambiguous: orientation.

Short interviews define the expectations of the teachers and the taught. This puzzling muddle creates not only the rehearsal atmosphere and a sense of the manor house park, but gives a foretaste of the musical conception of the film.

Presumed iconoclasm functions as a reservoir of leitmotifs. It sets down visual chords that later, like the thematic work of a composition, return in a variation.

Even when Bernstein is not physically on screen his presence is still felt, whether the orchestra is rehearsing Brahms' Academic Festival Overture, or whether individuals make music for the park trees, spontaneously performing some chamber music, or a group watch together a video of the New York Philharmonic (under Bernstein, of course) playing Mahler's 5th.

When at the end he departs in Justus Franz's feudal Mercedes with a brass fanfare, the appearance of a ruler is ironically brought to an end. The classically automobile rolls off like a master of ceremonies and standard bearer with a dog trailing behind.

The film naturally cannot answer this question, but it makes the viewer more sensitive of the conductor's difficult role. The general merit of this three-part documentary is that it awakens an

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Von Karajan... living legend.

(Photo: Deutsche Grammophon)

Von Karajan still going strong at 80

Herbert von Karajan has become a legend in his own lifetime. He has placed his stamp uniquely on the music of the 20th century.

When he stands with eyes closed on the podium in front of his orchestra is a great moment for Berlin's Philharmonic.

He has just celebrated his 80th birthday in his native Salzburg.

For the past 30 years Karajan, an honorary citizen of Berlin, has been the artistic director of the Berlin Philharmonic, an appointment he holds for life.

A selection process reduced these candidates to four who were groomed to take an active part in the film.

This process provokes criticism that is slotted into the film and should be taken seriously.

The orchestra's right to vote remained just a theory. The time for conducting was too short for valid judgment to be made. The process was too arbitrary and the result questionable.

Bernstein's defense was weak. In this part only really conflicting event in the three-part series happened.

Jeffrey Goldberg is an American and very talented. His biggest problems are with himself rather than with music.

During Beethoven's 8th he almost took his own life. The cameras took a closer look, curious at what was almost a sensation.

Bernstein's psychologically-dazzling diagnosis did not help at all, nor the spontaneous sympathy of the audience for the unfortunate young man on the podium.

He was in sharp personality contrast with the completely cool, almost emotionless, controlled Stephan Tezlaß and the dark Carlos Spierer, whose eyes could flash evilly.

The conductors film is not suitable for getting to know musical works. The musical examples (a lot of Beethoven but also Mandessöhn, Ravel, Dvorak, Shostakovich, Tchaikovsky and Sibelius) are too numerous and dubbed in too briefly.

The music serves here as an indicator to answer the complicated question what does a conductor have to do up there, what is this extra he does apart from beating time?

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■ ART

Old things, new faces: the role of the restorer



A 1913 publication on restoring works of art, written by Professor Konrad Lange, had the curious title *Ein doukaber Frauenberuf* (A Rewarding Women's Profession).

"I would particularly urge women interested in art history," he wrote, "to consider whether their love of art and old masters might not persuade them to consider training in this wonderful women's profession rather than writing a thesis on art history."

This might sound a little odd today, but this view is expressed with an understanding of the restorer's art that calls for handling historic works of art with sensitivity.

For some time the number of people visiting museums has been on the increase. Special exhibitions are held everywhere. Bids in auction houses are getting higher and higher.

The restorer is indispensable in all this. His or her work of rescuing old pictures, drawings, books and antiques from decay and decline is more often than not arduous and calls for considerable patience.

The restorer guarantees that works of art are brought back to their pristine glory and in no way falsified.

The restorers' associations said in a statement, called "The Pink Paper" because of its cover, that: "Restoration means today the utilisation of scientific methods for the preservation of historic works."

An unbiased reading of this statement must lead to the impression that all is well in the preservation of works of art in private or public collections.

There were and are indeed qualified restorers in the Federal Republic. Among the internationally well-known restorers from this country are people such as Doerner (in pre-war Munich), Wehlte in Stuttgart and Wilhelmsen and Taubert, who specialise in paintings and sculpture.

Nevertheless the astonishing fact is that this profession, which is responsible for so much art, is not given official recognition in this country. Anyone can set up as a restorer. Neither the profession nor movable art works are offered legal protection.

Astonishment is even greater if one looks at the training facilities for restorers in the various federal states. Because each state has sovereignty over its own cultural affairs, there are considerable differences in training for the profession.

In the midst of the quarrels between craftsmen's societies and restorers' associations it should not be forgotten that what is at stake is the future of works of art which should be preserved for coming generations.

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It is to be hoped that Hohenwarth Castle in the Upper Palatinate will remain an inglorious exception.

In this case historical monument preservation craftsmen took very little regard to the original roof truss and threw it away.

Johannes Taubert described what he believed was essential to be a good restorer. He said he must have theoretical and practical knowledge, sensitivity and patience. Then he thought for a moment and added: "He must be prepared to reach for the stars."

Helmut Heide (Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 10 April 1988)

binder, or alternatively five years' practical experience as a "restorer," for participants in a 30-month training course in the city's museums. Hamburg finally issues successful students a certificate as trained restorers.

Because the Hamburg model is very much geared to practical work it has not been adopted nationwide, nor is the Hamburg certificate recognised in the other federal states.

Controversy about training in the restorer's art has been going on for a long time. The dispute revolves round a definition of what restoring involves in practice and where is the line drawn in the training for a craftsman.

There has also been much discussion on just how to train a restorer. This controversy is also linked with the question of the status of the profession.

Craftsmen have traditionally been involved in the preservation of historical monuments and furniture. After a certain period in practical work they are regarded as restorers.

This fact, linked to economic considerations, has led the national craftsmen's association to draw up a job description for "craftsman restorer."

A glance at the work involved in restoring shows just how far the craftsmen's association has underestimated the work involved in the art of restoring.

The Hamburg Arts and Crafts Museum, for instance, has a Venetian book, dating from 1489, entitled *História naturalis de C. Pluto*. When it is remembered that Johannes Gutenberg only devised printing in 1450 it is obvious that this volume is of considerable value.

The volume had been badly damaged by insects and the paper had disintegrated because of its age.

The restorer, who undertook the restoration, is responsible for books and drawings in the museum. He also looks after the largest collection of posters in Europe.

He drew up a detailed catalogue of the damage, including what efforts had previously been made to preserve the volume and a precise description of its state of preservation.

To do this he subjected the book to laboratory tests and examinations by

Walter Benjamin wrote a book entitled *Der Ursprung des Kunstwerks im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit*, or The Origin of the Work of Art in an Age of Technical Reproducibility. He said in this book that when a work fell into neglect it automatically lost its artistic value and its genuineness and authority were questioned. This also alters the appreciation of the work.

Specifically, this means a confusion of the status of the craftsman and restorer reduces the art of restoration to something purely technical, something that has no historical justification.

A quick glance at the history of picture restorers shows why, since 1981 at the latest, this view, shared by all officials in res-



Tone-up, tune-up. A 19th century grand piano slowly loses its wrinkles.

torers' associations and mentioned in their "Pink Paper," could only come about gradually. For a long time restoration has been associated with the work of the craftsman, although there have been people who have not gone along with this.

Mettendorf, for instance, when a state secretary in the Austrian government, called for the establishment of a chair on art restoration at the Vienna Academy as early as 1837.

Then the East Prussian picture restorer Victor Bauer-Bolton called for systematic training for restorers in 1913.

Up to the 1970s the view expressed in 1960 by Wilhelmsen in his *Werkstattbildung für Restauratoren — erläutert an einem Beispiel* (Workshop Training for Restorers — Explained by an Example) has prevailed.

He believed that practical work was the only way to train a restorer. He believed that "theoretical work" was of only limited use and could be provided in special locations and at special times. He rejected the idea of a training institute.

Only in the past few years has there been a change of heart among specialist associations, brought about by the establishment of a degree course at arts colleges to Hildesheim and Cologne.

Students are given a degree in the art of the restorer after having completed at least eight semesters. This is an important step in maintaining acceptable standards and training at scientific levels.

Training is no longer haphazard and the qualifications of a young restorer are no longer dependent on the reputation of the restorer he or she trained under.

There are many art objects in the storerooms of museums and in private collections in this country, items of considerable historic importance, that should be subjected to processes of conservation.

In the midst of the quarrels between craftsmen's societies and restorers' associations it should not be forgotten that what is at stake is the future of works of art which should be preserved for coming generations.

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■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Consumer power yet to be wielded with full potential, meeting told

Three years ago 30 people attended a conference on critical consumer behaviour held at the Protestant Academy in Bad Boll, near Stuttgart.

This time 60 people attended. Does this 100-per-cent increase in attendance signify progress toward ecological awareness on the consumers' part? Hardly.

Yet, to use a military term, there is movement on this particular front in the fight for environmental protection.

Even so, the idea of ecological renewal by means of fitting consumer behaviour is not one for concerned citizens to anywhere near the same extent as issues such as Gorleben and Wackersdorf, the sites of proposed nuclear waste disposal and reprocessing facilities.

The consumer may be a power in the land but, exceptious apart, he is not yet capable of wielding his power to deliberate effect.

He is a sleeping giant who is only roused by shocks such as poisoned food stories or the news that wine is being sold with anti-freeze as a toxic additive.

He will then temporarily boycott these goods. Why, even the Soviet reactor catastrophe at Chernobyl and its radioactive aftermath have almost been forgotten.

You can't live in fear and trembling forever. Besides, consumers tend to feel somehow powerless.

So how are they to be persuaded to behave critically on a long-term basis, to consume sensibly and not be at the mercy of massive advertising campaigns?

Some say it is up to consumers themselves. Others feel the government must take the lead, obliging industry to manufacture different goods in a different manner.

Some fear such government intervention will not have any real effect. Besides, what is critical consumer behaviour?

Professor Scherhorn of Hobenheim University, Stuttgart, defines it as consideration for the interest of the community as a whole, or the public good.

In practice he was unable to say what shape this might take. Industry could certainly not be expected to adopt ethical manufacturing methods of its own accord. Its interest was, when all was said and done, to run at a profit.

Continued from page 10:

awareness of the various points of view of music and gives an insight into its significance.

The films do not only introduce you to music but immerse you in it by their direction, camerawork and cutting, which is in itself musical through its rhythmic qualities, tempo and the structuring of the film sequences.

Unfortunately over-cautious programme planners have put a stop to a high viewer quota by slotting the films into the afternoon children's and young people's programme on the Second Television Channel.

The innovative seriousness with which the subject of music is handled in the films is belittled yet again and music on television is once more only allowed to play the role of court jester.

Eugen Kohlhans
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
für Deutschland, 8 April 1988)



to environmental protection and bear environmental considerations in mind in their long-term planning.

As a rule companies today paid no more heed to environmental protection than their statutory requirement or sanctions made it worth their while to do.

Yet there were an increasing number of instances in which firms had a long-term interest in fostering an environmental protection image.

Manufacturers who failed to take ecologically-oriented marketing seriously were missing opportunity. A working part of ecologically-oriented executives already existed.

Professor Freimann of Kassel University sounded a similarly optimistic note. Environmentally-oriented companies were increasing in size and influence. More and more environment-friendly products were available.

The wave of interest in better housing (say homes and gardens), better eating (fine food and drink), being better dressed and travelling as a status symbol the latest trend was toward activities with a bio-prefix.

At times ecology entails dispensing with articles that exact a particularly heavy pollution toll on the environment.

Committed environmentalists often wonder whether much of what is available might not be superfluous.

Keenly conscious of this clash of interests, Professor Wimmer felt ecological considerations would increasingly influence industrial decisions.

The ideal, he felt, would be for firms to undertake a long-term commitment

That and other considerations had led to the affluent society in which we live, an affluence that would have been inconceivable only 20 years ago.

Professor Scherhorn dismissed the widespread argument that ecological demands might trigger an economic crisis. On the contrary, environmental protection promoted extra investment.

Unlike other experts, he felt industrial society stood a chance of survival because consumers felt increasingly determined not to be governed by outside influences. That held forth the prospect of a change in values.

Professor Frank Wimmer of Bamberg University struck an interesting balance. His subject is marketing, or how to identify new sales prospects.

How, he wondered, might companies best comply with the requirements of ecological responsibility? Economy and ecology, he said, were different worlds that at times clashed sharply.

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What was lacking was an objective classification of products that were genuinely environment-friendly. Professor Freimann felt it was for consumer associations to lend a hand in this department.

Consumer associations at present mainly set their role as that of providing impartial advice to consumers about to buy a new washing machine or a personal computer or helping consumers with complaints.

Environmental considerations often come second-best. But Willi Edelhoff of the Baden-Württemberg consumers' association said increasing interest had lately been shown in environmental aspects.

The first brochures dealing with this angle were published eight years ago and had sold like hot cakes. Consumer associations stocked them in bulk and depth. They were busy setting up environmental advice units.

Environmental advisers to visit people's homes had not proved very effective. In two Stuttgart suburbs environmental services were now being provided on what might be called a street worker basis.

Gerd Billen-Girmscheid of the Bonn consumers' initiative saw his organisation's role mainly as that of consumer self-help. Advice alone was not enough.

He outlined the progress of a campaign against a Bonn wholesaler who refused to take back empty bottles. A truckload of empty bottles was dumped on the firm's doorstep.

Such spectacular moves are as yet the exception, not the rule. The consumer, sleeping giant, seldom flexed his muscle.

But when he does, boycotts are usually effective. Boycotts of poor-quality noodles or filling stations that try to charge higher fuel prices, for instance.

Consumer values are definitely in the throes of change. The change-over to ecological products cannot be effected overnight, but gradual progress is being made.

Erich Peter
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 29 March 1988)

■ MEDICINE

The moral dilemma of prolonging death rather than life

An 88-year-old doctor, almost blind, was rushed to hospital after a stroke. He then suffered a heart attack and was kept alive in the emergency ward by all the technical means at modern medicine's disposal.

His daughter, also a doctor, pleaded in vain for the apparatus to be switched off.

So did the patient himself, who had difficulty in breathing, was suffering from excruciating pain and as a medical practitioner was well aware how pointless the treatment was.

He would have been only too happy to be allowed to die, but the hospital wouldn't let him.

His daughter later wrote, in an article in the Cologne medical journal *Deutsches Ärzteblatt*, that:

"This appears to have been a case in which the doctors were determined to prove how long a full life lived to its conclusion could be painfully prolonged by means of artificial respiration and drip feeding."

At night, she wrote, her father was in such pain that he screamed for help.

Instead of pain-killing drugs the night nurse drip-fed him the prescribed antibiotics.

To add insult to injury, 20 minutes before he died he was put through his exercise routine in the presence of his nearest and dearest. The last words he spoke were: "No, nn, no!"

This is, perhaps, an extreme instance of the misuse of medical facilities. But when doctors try to prolong the life of a terminal patient, pointlessly prolonging his death rather than his life, they trigger increasingly vociferous calls for *Sterbehilfe*.

Patients expect doctors to deal with — and somehow cure — death. Berlin geriatric psychiatrist Professor Siegfried Kanowski told the conference that life expectancy, both people's own and that of their families, had increased to such an extent that people tended to feel death was a dim and distant prospect.

As a rule that is just what it is until well into later life. What does not really exist seems all the more threatening and tends to trigger intense, neurotic fear.

"We doctors must relearn the lesson that not every death is a defeat for us," said the conference chairman, Professor Horst Joachim Rheindorf.

In his view dying at home in the company of one's nearest and dearest could well regain popularity. He called on the medical and allied professions to prepare to help the terminally ill and their relatives.

Death and dying were long repressed. People lived as though there were no such thing as death. It was long consid-

ered — and in some cases still is seen as — a kind of embarrassing accident that is best not mentioned.

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I SPOKE, YOU SEE. This eye microscope developed at Hanover University reads to the human voice. It underlines 13 separate orders and enables the surgeon to work throughout with two hands. (Photo: Thomas Deichmann)

their last days. They would prefer not to suffer from unbearable pain and to remain fully conscious. Modern medicine can deliver the goods on these points, although not all doctors are aware that it can.

Above all, they hope not to be left on their own, neither outwardly (someone reliable must be at hand all the time) nor inwardly.

There was nothing worse for a dying person, the conference was told, than not to be told what his condition was. Most wanted to know and had a shrewd idea of the position in any case.

Professor Kanowski mentioned US surveys indicating that the proportion of fatally ill people who were told what their condition was had increased from 10 to 85 per cent within 15 years.

But that meant nothing if "being told" amounted to no more than the mere, legally-motivated notification that death seemed imminent and inevitable.

It

foremost aim is to help terminal patients in institutions, such as hospitals, nursing and old people's homes and in the family.

Munich psychotherapist Professor Hein-Rolf Lückert confirmed that more people were giving consideration to the phenomenon of death, including their own, and had been doing for the past 10 years or so.

Does that have positive consequences for the fatally ill? Are they now being sent off to hospital less frequently and, once in hospital, no longer either pointlessly treated or helplessly ignored?

Despite attempts to end the taboo the tendency to transfer the dying to institutions continued unabated, said Freiburg doctor and psychologist Professor Uwe Koch.

This was partly due to living conditions and family circumstances. Twenty years ago 44 per cent of people died in hospital.

The present figure is over 65 per cent,

and that doesn't include the 20 per cent who die in nursing and old people's homes.

In other words, most people fall to die where they would prefer to do so: where they have lived.

Modern, high-tech hospitals are not designed as places where people can die in dignity, the conference agreed.

As one speaker noted: "Much would have been gained if we could only ensure that patients no longer died on their own, shuttled off into a bathroom."

Experienced women doctors (few men attended the conference), nurses and chaplains knew what the dying most

needed and most dearly hoped for in

the dying still sedated and snubbed off into a side-ward in many hospitals (but not all, luckily) once doctors decide there is nothing more that can be done to help them. Can they no longer be helped? Ellis Huber, president of the Berlin Medical Council, dealt with a self-help group run by doctors that he attended shortly after qualifying.

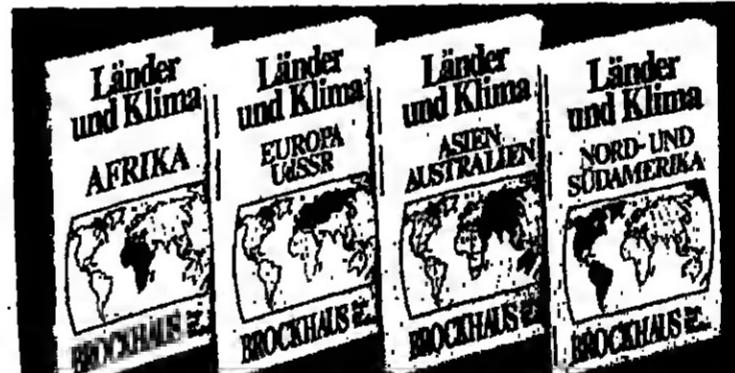
What, they wondered, were they going to do with patients they could no longer help. It took them four sessions to realise that even the dying could still be helped.

Hospices were constantly mentioned at the conference. Speakers who had visited one of the many British or American hospices were lavish in their praise of the pain treatment and personal care and attention provided.

A few hospices have lately been set up in the Federal Republic of Germany, some as hospital units, others outside the hospital framework. If only there were more!

Rosemarie Stein
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
für Deutschland, 9 April 1988)

Meteorological stations all over the world



supplied the data arranged in see-at-a-glance tables in these new reference works. They include details of air and water temperature, precipitation, humidity, sunshine, physical stress of climate, wind conditions and frequency of thunderstorms.

These figures compiled over the years are invaluable both for planning journeys to distant countries and for scientific research.

Basic facts and figures for every country in the world form a preface to the tables. The emphasis is on the country's natural statistics, on climate, population, trade and transport.

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F. A. Brockhaus, Postfach 1709; D-6200 Wiesbaden 1

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 29 March 1988)

Look it up in Brockhaus

■ HORIZONS

The long plod in quest of the holey pipeline

To the casual observer Peter Brill looks like an ordinary hiker. But he tramps across fields and through woods to keep an eye on a pipeline that lies beneath his feet.

He wears a trilby hat and carries a gnarled stick in his right hand. His oil-skin jacket is yellow, his trousers are olive green. He wears rubber boots in view of the poor weather.

He tramps through muddy woodland paths and looks for all the world like the happiest hiker in the world.

But Brill, 33, from Duisburg, carries a walkie-talkie radio in his jacket pocket. It is obvious that he does not tramp through the woods and fields out of pure pleasure.

In fact he is not free to wander where he will. His route is clearly marked by yellow stakes arranged at regular intervals, with one that has a red glowing cover on it.

One metre below his feet there lies the oil pipeline that links Wilhelmshaven on the North Sea and refineries on the Rhine and in the Ruhr.

Brill is a hiker by training. He and his six colleagues have to ensure that there are no fractures and oil leaks in the pipeline between Lingen and the line's end at Wesseling, near Cologne.

They work for the Nord-West Oelleitung (NWO), based in Mülheim in the Ruhr.

The parent company is based in Wilhelmshaven, a combine of German oil companies that operate the 319-kilometre pipeline from the Jade estuary to the terminal south of Cologne.

About 15 million tons of crude oil flow through the 28-inch pipeline annually.

Continued from page 10

ian Occupation Forces banned one of his concerts in Vienna in 1948. Later he became conductor of the Vienna Philharmonic and he took charge of the Vienna Opera in 1957.

He left this appointment in 1963 after a lot of fuss, but he returned in 1977.

He is an enthusiastic pilot and car driver. His greatest interest after music is technology no matter if it concerns fast cars, planes, boats or the technical possibilities to perfect musical recording.

Like no-one else he has exploited the possibilities of the technical media. He has made his music available not only to a relatively small number of concert-goers but to a public of millions via his recordings.

In his business affairs he has been involved in production and marketing companies.

He is a star conductor but he has done a lot for the rising generation of musicians. He set up the International Karajan Foundation in 1968 that subsidises competitions for conductors and youth orchestras.

This organisation has already done a great deal for the international careers of many young conductors.

Since 1967 he has organised the Easter Festival in Salzburg. He is also a member of the board of the Salzburg Summer Festival.

Despite his frail health he does not neglect his music or his "dream of perfection."

Christine Backhaus

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 5 April 1988)

The crude flows through the underground pipeline at a leisurely pace, five kilometres per hour, in fact.

Once a month Peter Brill and his colleagues have to tramp along the marked-out route of the pipeline. They cover 20 kilometres a day — including every kind of hindrance, and there are plenty in any one section.

They have to follow the dictates of the pipeline, disregarding the realities of the countryside through which it passes.

The pipeline goes in a dead straight line under the earth, but Brill and his colleagues have to climb over barbed-wire fences and wade through streams.

A meadow where a young bull is grazing is a good reason for Brill and his colleagues to leave the marked route.

He said: "If the farmers themselves dare not go there, we are not going to go in that field."

He keeps his eye on the pipeline route at a suitable distance, looking for tell-tale signs of a leak.

Discoloration of the grass, changes in the trees and pools of water covered with an oil film are all signs that there is a fracture in it and that oil is leaking.

Fehring added that the men who walked the pipeline also had to keep an eye on its above-ground security.

A passing five and a half metres wide has to be left free either side of the pipeline. It has to be kept free of plant life so that the pipeline's route can be observed without hindrance from the air.

Only after a lot of effort can Peter Brill's older colleagues recall leaks in the pipeline. They happened "at least 20 years ago," they say, and were not very important.

NWO has a number of security measures operating on the pipeline, which is today electronically-controlled throughout.

Travelling journeymen are still a sight to be seen in German cities and they feature in any number of popular folk songs.

They pack up their belongings and try their luck all over the country.

The most famous travelling journeyman was shoemaker Hans Sachs, son of a tailor. He went on his travels all over Germany between 1511 and 1516.

He was a "Meistersinger" and Shrovetide player and is the central character in Wagner's opera *The Meistersingers of Nuremberg*.

He wrote lyric poetry and more than 200 plays that are an important aspect of German literature.

Hans Sachs was the prototype of travelling journeymen of today.

We met one of these journeymen, one of the many hundreds who continue this ancient German craftsmen's tradition.

Ralf Hojenski is 27. Since June last year he has wandered through the Federal Republic. He was recently at Ratzeburg, just north of Hamburg.

He is a pleasant young man, a carpenter by trade. According to old tradition he decided to go on his travels from his Bavarian home near Dachau for two years and a day.

In his "Tramp Book," something like a seaman's book, the latest stamp is from the Ratzeburg Mayor and the A.-Paul Weber House.

This gives some idea of the point of this journeying, "learning about regional

Measuring equipment records a drop in pressure and a computer is used to localise any malfunctions. The computer can control the difference between the volume of crude sent out from Wilhelmshaven and the quantity that arrives at its destination.

There are also "Molche" (the German means salamanders), electronic measuring devices that are sent with the crude through the pipeline and can recognise fractures in it.

Despite all this high-performance technology must people clamber over fences in stormy weather, wade through streams, across muddy fields, and transverse roads and railway lines like Peter Brill with a walking stick in his hand to defend himself against inhospitable dogs?

Is it necessary to watch for changes in the earth and vegetation, when "Molche," measuring stations and a weekly helicopter patrol survey the pipeline?

Peter Brill gives a smile that says a lot when his work is compared with that of the oft-quoted fireman on board British electric locomotive. NWO boss Norbert Fehring, 49, stands up for the human element in keeping watch over the pipeline.

He said: "A leak no bigger than the nozzle on an aerosol through which two to three litres of oil could escape a day cannot be traced by the most sensitive electronic equipment."

Fehring added that the men who walked the pipeline also had to keep an eye on its above-ground security.

There is a lot to be said for the pipeline's security in that during his ten years service he has not once come across a leak. His friends pull his leg telling him that he earns his living by going for a walk.

He brushes this aside saying: "The should walk through a cornfield when it is 30 degrees in the shade and you can hardly draw a breath."

He goes his way trudging through waterlogged fields with lime on his boots.

He has his radio in his breast pocket and he looks for the next yellow metal stake.

Ulrich Hermauski

(Rheinische Post, Düsseldorf, 12 March 1988)



Up hill and down dale looking for holes.
(Photo: Frank Herling)

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■ FRONTIERS

Back-to-nature housing scheme — at a cost

Architectural experts and magazine editors from far and wide are making their way to see 68 spectacular houses on the "Laher Wiesen" housing scheme, east of Hanover.

The din in one house above a ceiling of bleached wood was deafening. A little boy named Boris and his girl friend were playing with his toys.

The boy's father and master of the house said: "Yes, the poor sound-proofing worries me the most."

The obvious question then was why he had paid out DM340,000 for such a home?

People such as anthropologists and oldhands of the 1968 student movement, social workers and journalists, musicians and teachers expressed interest.

The first building phase quickly grew from the planned 46 to 68 homes.

I asked the architect-duo if they did not sometimes wonder at their nerve in the view of the spectacular increase in the number of houses to be built? After all they had earned their living in quite a different way previously.

Hermann Boockhoff said "no" in tones that showed he was sure of his convictions.

Anyone wanting to visit the environment-conscious community by public transport must make his or her way from the bus stop through a typical concrete estate built in the 1960s. In the background there are hideous, towering office blocks that house insurance companies.

Then there are some usual brick-built houses with smart shops on the ground floor.

The visitor would almost be in danger of going past the community then. The houses do not make much impact at first sight.

The wooden facades of the first house fronts are in an indefinable gray. Just like any other row of terraced houses there are little winterish gardens crushed up in front of them.

Then, at a second glance, one sees the striking roofs. They are of grass which is why the houses are spoken of in Hanover as the "Grass-roofed housing scheme."

This roof grass is more wan than springing green. But the roofs are not planted with grass for its colour.

Architects in a Bonn Building Ministry brochure entitled "Courage to Build" dated 1984 announced that a 145-square-metre house should cost only DM270,000.

The considerable praise given the "Laher Wiesen" housing scheme and satisfied house-owners show that it was very much worth while to have the courage to build.

Hans Borges, 40, the only non-academic in the founding group, said: "My daughter begins to cry as soon as there is any mention of perhaps our moving somewhere."

He continued: "The grass roots give good isolation against the cold of winter and the heat of the summer. This is why we can use the space right up to under the roof."

He also had trouble finding a roof over his head.

Then he had a stroke of good luck when a young Ratzeburg woman saw a publican turn him away.

After a short telephone call journeyman Hojenski was offered bed and board by a couple whose two sons had been out as travelling journeymen.

The traditional dress of journeymen carpenters such as Hojenski is a decorated corduroy coat with a broad-brimmed black, felt hat. He carries a knobly wooden stick and has a pack over his shoulder that contains his few possessions.

Hojenski left Ratzeburg feeling good and made for Lübeck, then he hopes to go to see the Holstein lakes.

He was sent on his way with many good wishes. Many were envious of him and would like to "drop out" as he had done for two years and a day.

They did the planning together, built together and ironed out planning and building errors, financial and tradesmen's mistakes, jointly. Everything was going swimmingly.



Costa outgrew the grass: grass-roofed house in Hanover achaime.

(Photo: Gerhard Stielitz)

have risked their professional careers on the "Mueller village."

The houses are models for smaller projects all over the Federal Republic. Colleagues in Cologne are among others who are about to emulate them.

Hermann Boockhoff, usually jolly, said pointedly: "I have a suspicion that many clients will not pay their last account."

He and his colleagues believe that it is just a small group of troublemakers who are causing difficulties and going to court.

Costs have shot ahead, a problem to which people who are building their own houses get to know as a "normal" condition.

But that apart many of the people cooperating in the "Laher Wiesen" housing scheme said that they had expected too much from rolling up their own sleeves and getting down to it.

Most of them are desk-bound. They have enthusiasm but they often do not have the skill to do things with their hands. Then they have a full-time job in a school or in a newspaper which does not leave them as much time for doing things outside work as they had hoped.

It turned out that crowds of unemployed academics, nimble with their fingers and with plenty of muscle, found profitable work on the housing scheme.

Moonlighters come cheaper than "official" tradesmen, but definitely more expensive than the original do-it-yourself plan.

The "alternative" house-owners in Hanover, however, are not alone in having to face up to these problems. The same kind of problems emerge even in small projects, according to Renate Narren, a sociologist specialising in architectural matters.

She said that it was not so much to do with people's shortcomings as a structural problem. The inclusion of the architects in the home-building cooperative veiled the real and varied interests of the people involved.

The "ecology architects" had very little experience. Furthermore the "experimental risks" were pushed aside.

Michael Krische is one of the homeowners who is pleased with the way things have turned out. He said: "Anyone who knowingly takes part in an experiment should not complain when things do not turn out quite as they should."

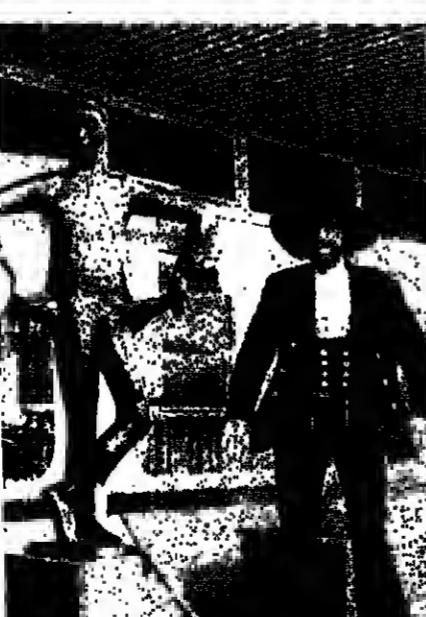
But despite all the annoyance there is not one of the critics who wants to leave the housing scheme.

Not without a certain amount of self-mockery Hans Borges sees as the main motive behind the grass-roofed houses a "nostalgia for village life." This will eventually be satisfied by a sturdy village row,

Thomas Krömer

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 9 April 1988)

The journeyman tradition carries on



Journeyman carpenter Hojenski makes a point.
(Photo: Hans-Jürgen Wohlfahrt)

work techniques and learning about country and people and even about oneself."

The original tradition of the travelling journeyman was designed to give the men who went off on their travels a chance to "fight" for a way in life. But today they knock at many a door in vain.

Hojenski has experienced this in Ratzburg. He could not find part-time work in the city which stands on an island surrounded by lakes.

He also had trouble finding a roof over his head.

Then he had a stroke of good luck when a young Ratzeburg woman saw a publican turn him away.

After a short telephone call journeyman Hojenski was offered bed and board by a couple whose two sons had been out as travelling journeymen.

They originally came from the Hanover city planning department and a firm of building administrators.

Others who have failed to do so are dismissed as dreamers. Their message, if it ever was one, has gone unheeded.

Yet the student movement was the soil in which left-wing extremism took root, leading to urban terrorism.

Enthusiasm and idealism led not only to resignation at the world proving resistant to change but also to lethal violence.

Maybe that would have happened anyway in a world where force, and war, is all too often used in the attempt to solve problems. There is no reason to glorify the